593 Sobak treats as if he were his own. She is a hard worker, and lets the other women take advantage of her, making her carry the heaviest loads. Sobak does not make any more demands upon her as regards work than most men make on their wives. He always seems kind to her, and says she is a good wife. I have never heard him talk of beating her. Once she went on a visit to relatives at Hanahan and stayed several days. Sobak was very worried, and told me he was afraid some man there was keeping her away, but all was well when she came back.

Tsonakets has a sister, who was also married at Hanahan, but after her husband's death she came to live in Sobak's household at Kurtatchi, bringing her three little boys. Sobak takes care of them all. In the [576] ordinary way he would have married her, but he does not wish to offend the priest by taking another wife, so he says he is not going to do so.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

837 In this society, where marriage at or before arrival at sexual maturity is the rule, it follows that such illicit intercourse as may take place will be between persons each of whom is married to another individual.

837 In the olden days, according to my informants, adultery was
684 regarded as a very serious offence, the penalty for discovery being death to both parties. The man's relatives would be responsible [696] for the exaction of the penalty in the case of the man, and the woman's in the case of the woman, no retaliation being offered on [266] either side. An old cannibal of Saposa further stated that the bodies of such offenders were eaten, but at Kurtatchi they said that this final insult was only for those who committed a particularly abhorrent kind of incest (see p. 68). It seems feasible to suppose that the actual state of affairs may have been idealized a little in reminiscence, and that clandestine intercourse was neither so rare nor so drastically punished as report would lead one to believe. In the tales, honour was often satisfied by a fight, and this is a usual outcome nowadays. In some instances, particularly if the advances of the suitor had been unwelcome, he was taken to the beach, where spears and arrows were shot at him. But apparently he was allowed to shoot in return. In answer to questions, arising out of such stories, I was told that this was a true account of what actually [685] used to happen, not merely a made-up tale. It is noteworthy that the same punishment was meted out to any one caught stealing ceremonial currency.

837 Whatever may have been the state of things in the past, there

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p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was told that there was one man living on a small island off the west coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour, and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom (about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of 5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated with a value in terms of shillings.

Beroan is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions. Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage.
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits.
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *waris* as sign of grief.

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water; cooking pots, bought from Malasang; and such baskets as they choose to make. Each woman also owns a hood for observing the rules of avoidance. Both sexes cherish their woven armlets, necklaces, and other ornaments, their pipes, and their decorated lime-pots, though these are now giving place to tins obtained from the white man. Most people now possess trade knives for cutting bush, weeding, &c., and some few also axes and adzes. This makes no claim to be an exhaustive list of personal possessions, but it does, I think, include the bulk of them. Although these people take pleasure in ownership, and are as delighted as children at the acquisition of, say, a specially large or good knife (I have seen a man doing a dance of joy at one which I had given him) or a string of beads, they do not seem to strive particularly to amass quantities of possessions, beyond what they need for their own use. 'Riches' consist of ceremonial currency and pigs, everything else is incidental. Ornamented spears used to rank in this category, and still do in the central mountain districts, there forming part of the transactions connected with marriage, as do also stone axes, which are no longer valued in the coastal districts.

Records of possessions.

To keep a record of the number of coco-nut trees owned by the inhabitants of the village, bundles of the stiff centre rib of the coco-nut leaf frond are kept, containing one rib for each tree. A tally of pigs is kept by making notches on a stick. All the pigs belonging to the village are recorded—or are supposed to be recorded—on one stick, but this does not mean that they are communally owned. These records are required by the Government and the bundles and sticks are given to the District Officer at his official visit. I do not think any record would be kept except for this requirement, and its accuracy is open to considerable doubt.

ATTITUDE TO THEFT

To steal ceremonial currency made of teeth (*imun*) is a major offence, one of the two such offences recognized by these people, the other being to take another man's wife, for which the same word (*a mot*) is used. The customary punishment is that the convicted person shall be taken to the beach and all who wish shall have the right to shoot at him with spears and arrows. He is,

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however, permitted to shoot in return, and as far as I could make out, the affair was generally hardly more than a form. This procedure is now, however, no longer permitted, matters of this kind being dealt with by the District Officer.

The theft of other property, even of pigs, is regarded as a minor offence, over which the injured parties are very angry and talk a great deal, but eventually agree to the settlement of the affair by the payment of a fine. I have a story of a man called Tianowan, living at Ruri, who stole a pig belonging to Mudidemets, which he killed and ate. He was made to pay back a pig to Mudidemets, which was killed and eaten by the two men together, 'then Mudidemets was not angry with Tianowan any more'. Another story tells how a group of boys were always stealing bananas belonging to a man who lived at a neighbouring village. One day he caught them, and brought them to his place, and held them prisoners. The *tsunaun* of their own village brought a length of *beroan* to pay the owner of the bananas to let them go; he said that was not enough, so the *tsunaun* paid him two lengths, and he let the boys go. I did not personally experience any cases of theft, although I neglected the advice of the planters to keep all my goods locked up. A boy about thirteen, living at Kurtatchi with his mother, but actually belonging to another village, had the reputation of being a thief (*ti a mot*). Every one knew this, and discussed it with disapprobation, and several people warned me not to allow him to come on to my verandah. But I never heard of his being punished for any definite theft, and I am uncertain how far the charges against him were true, and how far they were made because he did not really belong to the village, in which he was unpopular.

INTENTIONAL DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

As noted elsewhere in greater detail, a man's pigs and coco-nut palms, and a woman's taro, are used, on the death of the owner, to provide food for the people who come to wail. But it is not only the produce that is taken, the coco-nut palms are cut down—or were, until the practice was forbidden by the Government as wasteful—and the garden laid waste. If articles such as ornaments are put into the grave they are sometimes, but not always, broken. (See account of burying of pillow on p. 492.)

There are also other occasions on which property is intentionally